### SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OFINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY POR THE EVENING THEEGRAPH.

Protection Against Free Trade.

From the N. Y. Tribune. In an address recently issued, the American Industrial League calls the notice of the people of the United States to the combined attack which the agents of foreign free trade have of late been making against the national industry. The caution is a timely one. "Free trade" is a very cheap outery in contempt and at the expense of real and honest free trade. It is trade which is free to the British merchant rather than to the American producer, which would give us, in place of the restraints of a protective system, the costs in a thousand ways of foreign domination over native labor. The policy which it advocates is one without shape or measure, dissolute as a doctrine, and practically as pernicious as any British manufacturer baving cheap goods to sell at double expense to the American workingman could possibly desire. The American League cannot be wrong, therefore, in abscribing a long train of evils to the dissipations of

finance and commerce to which a policy of

unchecked free trade must inevitably lead, if

it prevails at all. The worst of these would

be repudiation in some form or other. The question at issue between protection and non-protection is one of moral dominion over commerce. In a contest between the nation's mechanics and producers and the British manufacturers, we are constantly asked, Shall we emancipate our labor from the chains of cheap competition or shall we freely allow his Royal Cheapness, the spinner or foundryman of Birmingham, to sway us at his will? Thus far, we conclude that it is better for the revenue, morals, and toil of this land that the foreign worker should pay his own boardbill among us than that we should pay it for him. We are not bound to maintain a rival at our doors. We can do better with commerce as an agent of our own industries rather than the slave of foreign labor, which is made the dictator alike of our trade and manufacture. A commerce in danger of being debauched by unlimited and indisoriminate trading needs as much intelligent protection as a community which demands an efficient liquor law to keep its body politic sober. Between extravagant, unlicensed buying and selling, and intemperate drinking, we can easily find the logical parallel, especially if the market bullies the workshop, to the confusion and defeat of those legitimate industries which are the true test of the national worth. Liquor selling without any hindrance is at the cost of public sobriety; free trade, without stint, is a charge on the national toil. Wherefore, we think the people are not likely to be deceived by any specious argument under a plausible name. They know that free trade is very much like free whisky, such as a toper permits himself to take at all hours of the day and under all circumstances. The In-dustrial League proposes to itself the highest objects of economy. These are not the pursuit of an unlimited tariff any more than an unlimited free trade; neither are they partial or local. The League intends to vindicate all productions as one; to endeavor to lessen all the burdens imposed on labor by a wholesome study and criticism of administrations and measures, and to warn the country against any exhibition of looseness or extravagance in our revenue system. To reduce the cost of all articles of prime necessity to the masses of the people, by placing the great burden of taxation upon articles of luxury. vation upon articles of luxury. aring adequate protection to our workshops and fields, will be, of course, an earnest aim of the League. There is an urgent work besides, in seeing that the revenue laws are strictly and universally enforced. Let the League assume this task with the energy and intelligence which it owns, and we shall see, beyond doubt or cavil, how much is lost to the nation's revenue by maladministration, and how much, in spite of this, is gained by the system approved by Congress. What the League proposes to do is, we take it, in the interest of legitimate free trade, and not of the sham which sets up the cry of wolf against protection in order that it may devour our sheep.

We counsel the people to give hearty aid to the cause which now appeals in their behalf. There can be no real danger of the success of the British doctrine of free trade if the public are once aroused to meet the new antagonism which has, of late, sprung up among importers and others trading here on foreign capital. Foreign capital may well be employed to support this over-zealous upstart; and the friends of free labor may properly depend on such native resources as our mines, workshops, foundries, and fields. These interests need no second word to come, if need be, to the rescue of American labor, and help to make our commerce the agent of home industry, instead of the appendix of an alien labor thousands of miles away. Free trade is another word for liberty without law. It is a dangerous license of trade and finance. In a word, it is commercial libertinism. Against such a heresy every pick, hammer, spindle, and hoe in the land is raised.

#### Futility and Mischief of the President's Course.

From the N. Y. Times. A special despatch to Saturday's Express intimates that although the President is "firmly and unchangeably convinced" of the legality of the Amnesty Proclamation, "still the doubt upon the question that exists in the public mind,"and the agitation to which it has given rise, "will, it is feared, render the proclamation of very little benefit to the people for whom it was intended." "Certain it is," the same authority adds, "there will be no registration under it, so that in the important point of suffrage it will prove an utter nullity." Whether the Express correctly reports the feeling and purpose of Mr. Johnson or not, there can be no doubt that it speaks the truth when it describes the recent proclamation as of no service whatever to the South.

The fact that the remark is equally applicable to every phase of the President's anti-Congressional policy is its severest condemnation. Something might be alleged in favor of an obstinate adherance to his own views if he were able so to apply them as to mitigate the miseries and hasten the restoration of the The accomplishment of practical good would go far towards palliating dogma tism and self-will in its prosecution. But what can be pleaded in justification of acts which invariably fall short of their professed object? What can be urged in vindication of a policy undertaken avowedly in the interest of the South, but which always signally fails to afford it the slightest benefit? The Amnesty Proclamation is one of a series of inter-

the suffrage to the disfranchised classes renders it as barren and unprofitable as all that preceded it from the same source. In respect to helping the South, it is as worthless as waste

Practically considered, then, the issues raised by Mr. Johnson in opposition to the Reconstruction law are as idle as they are mischievous. As a matter of principle, he fulfilled the requirements of the most earnest convictions when he declined to be a party to the enactment. Now, he occupies the position of one who is constantly seeking to apply his own plans, but is compelled in the end to succumb to the plans of Congress. He has not the prudence which recognizes defeat when it occurs, or the true courage which endeavors to make the best of disaster. If ever mortal delighted in kicking against the pricks, it is he. He proclaims his possession of potent authority, and it forthwith vanishes into thin air. He contrives and declares, and is obliged immediately thereafter coufess himself power-The weapon he invents to overcome Congress hurts none so seriously as their inventor. Its measures go forward, despite his opposition. Its policy has a certainty of ultimate triumph, notwithstanding his proclamations against it. All he really does resolves itself into an ineffectual endeavor to make his capricious will the supreme law, as against provisions lawfully enacted. He incenses Concress by insulting it, and forfeits confidence by had faith in the administration of its measures. The most zealous adherent cannot claim for these characteristics the merit of statesmanship. They exhibit blundering from first to last, coupled with a recklessness and a disregard of the known intent of the law, utterly inexplicable in the Executive of a republic.

The evil inflicted upon the country by this course is beyond calculation. For though Mr. Johnson has uniformly failed, and will continue to fail, in his efforts to frustrate Congress, the effect of his action is to disturb the public mind, to introduce uncertainty into the work of reconstruction, to excite apprehensions of further conflict, and to impair the confidence which lies at the root of enterprise and prosperity. Inability to foresee the contingencies of the morrow has not been so painfully realized since the darkest of the war. Mr. Johnson has said and done so much that is wild and wanton, that people have ceased to judge of the probabilities of his action according to any received standard of right or duty. Men's minds, moreover, are becoming familiar with revolutionary schemes-schemes of violence and armed strife-as possible incidents of his future pretensions. We do not propose to hold him responsible for the sensational speculations of newspaper correspondents, but it is unfortunately notorious that the persons who share his confidence and inspire not a few of his ideas, are favorable to armed resistance to Congress and a summary dispersion of its members, if it proceed with impeachment. It is scarcely credible that, with all his folly, Mr. Johnson can listen approvingly to suggestions of this nature. But they are undoubtedly among the results of his hostility to Congress and of the angry agitation which his policy has produced. From every point of view, that policy is as inimical to national harmony and peace as it is injurious to the immediate interests of the Southern people.

## The Late Peace Speeches of the Emperor

From the N. Y. Heraid.

The time has been, and that at no remote date, when the affairs of one nation were matters of comparative indifference to the people of all other nations. Times have changed, and changed rapidly. We do not, because we cannot, say that the nations are left naked to his enemies more justly than bound together by love. They are bound can Andrew Johnson from the day on which together, nevertheless; and, in view of the fact, it matters little whether they are bound together by love or by interest. More and more the nations are feeling themselves one. A natural and necessary consequence of this is that no one of the great nations of modern times can afford to be indifferent to the affairs of any other.

It is this general principle which enables us to understand the interest which is taken by the Old World in the affairs of the New, and the interest which is taken by the New in the affairs of the Old. There is an affinity-we cannot well call it electric, but it is as delicate as electric may be-between all peoples. Governments may have different interests, but the interests of the people in all nations are one and the same. Touch the pulse of one nation and the throbbing of the universal pulse is felt. Do wrong to one nation, and the wrong is everywhere experienced.

The speeches of the Emperor Napoleon at Arras, at Lille, and at Amieus are illustrations in point. Since the close of the late German war the Emperor himself has been mainly responsible for the creation of an uneasy feeling financially, not in France alone, but throughout the world. This uneasiness was a source not only of discomfort but of suffering to France. What France was to do France did not know. What France did know was that she was suffering, and that the state of suspense in which she was placed by the Emperor's policy was the main cause of that suffer-France, therefore, was impatient, and

the world was annoyed. The Emperor has at last spoken out. His peeches are before France and the world, and France and the world have been bold enough to give their opinions thereon. What is the merit of these speeches, whether they mean peace or whether they mean war, are questions for the present aside. To those who are concerned about these points, we commend the opinions which we have already expressed, and the extracts which we gave from our Ecropean files in Friday's Herald. The points which we wish to notice are, that the public opinion of the nation has forced itself on the attention of the Emperor, and that the Emperor himself is now tolerably well convinced that the game of keeping the nations under a continuous war excitement is well-nigh played out. The "black spots on the horizon," source of so much disquietude, the Emperor begins to feel are very much of his own creating.

#### Mr. Johnson and His Betrayers. From the N. Y. Tribune.

Before Andrew Johnson had been three weeks President, slimy, insidious creatures,

who had instinctively hissed whenever his name had been mentioned during the two or three preceding years, crawled through byways and up back stairs to his ear, and beguiled him to his ruin, with assurances that he was still regarded by the Democratic party as one whom accident had temporarily alienated from its fold, but who was in heart and purpose still a Democrat, whom his old party was ready to recognize and follow as a leader. They told him that he was destined to reunite and restore to power the Jackson

We know and can name the men-Copperheads of the most malignant type-who whispered these flattering messages into his eager ear, and received his confidential assurances of sympathy and favor. At once, his furious diatribes against treason and traitors-his threats that the former should be made more odious and the latter punished - were husbed into utter silence. Very soon, the Copperhead journals stopped their measureless revilings and began to regale him with guarded compliments and cautiously worded praises. The Washington oracle, formerly the Union, but long since renamed in deference to the prejudices o' its patrons, first circumspectly pronounced bim an unchanged Democrat; a Democratic committee openly tendered him its congratulations on his accession; and soon the World-which had for months, and especially on the occasions of his Nashville speech accepting the nomination for Vice-President, and of his unhappy Inauguration harangue-assailed him with beastly invectives as a "boorish, drunken tailor"-jeined in proclaiming his orthodoxy and sounding his praises. And thus it has continued applauding his acts and glorifying his character ever since; while every grogshop oracle has recchoed its laudations.

Since the case of Eve and the serpent, there has been no more deliberate, determined, persistent seduction. Mr. Johnson had weaknesses; the Demecrals knew and resolved to profit by them. He had a consuming ambition and a deficiency of moral principle; they played upon these with intent to bend and mould him to their uses. They knew that the action they required of him involved immeasurable ingratitude and perfidy to those who had elected him; they knew that a President who should betray them as they sought to have him betray the Republicans could get his life insured in no prudently managed company; but they wanted office and power, and hoped to gain them through his corruption and ruin; so they fooled him to the top of his bent, and gloated over the prospect of the advantages they would reap from his debasement and infamy.

Andrew Johnson has done many evil and unjustifiable deeds since he made the White House his home; but every one of them was invited and applauded to the echo by the Democratic party and press. Fallen and de-tested as he is, he is their dupe, their tool, their victim, and they have no right to reproach nor even desert him. He is what they have made him, and entitled to their forbearance not only but their affection. His treachery is the ladder whereby they have climbed out of an abyss of hopelessness into a twilight

of hope. And now his betrayers proclaim, through the World, the Albany Argus, etc., that he is not a Democrat—that they will not be responsible for his Presidential career-that Democrats must not accept places in his Cabinet, etc. etc., as if they had never swayed his policy nor begged his offices! Like the "old physician," his sands of official life are "fast running out," and they fear he will ask them to make good their hollow professions, their lying flatteries, by making him their candidate for re-election. It is the old case of the libertine required to fulfil his perfidious vows after their end has been answered, their object attained. They never meant to fulfil them, even when their lips were hot with protestations of fealty and devotion. They will no more run him for President than they did his prototype, John Tyler; and, when he has nothing more to give, they will shun and despise him as they did his non-illustrious predecessor. They have already disowned him as a Democrat; two years hence, they will protest that he was always a Black Republican, whom they detested and opposed while in power, and turned out on the first opportunity. Cardinal Wolsey could not complain of being he descends to the common level of his fellow-citizens.

#### The President and Congress-What is the Prospect for President Johnson? From the N. Y. Herald.

The special despatches which we published from Washington, disclosing the views and purposes of President Johnson in the further prosecution of his fight with Congress, have created in this metropolis, and will create throughout the country, a profound sensation. Satisfied that the programme thus disclosed has been resolved upon by the President—because everything that he has done, beginning with the removal of Stanton, points in this direction—the questions recur, What is the prospect for Mr. Johnson? Will the issue be to him the triumph of Cromwell or the failure of Charles the First?

He proposes to reopen the registration offices in the Rebel States, in order that the Rebels embraced in his last amnesty proclation may be admitted to the ballot-boxes in the work of Southern reconstruction; and this he proposes in defiance of the reconstruction laws of Congress. It is his declared purpose, in the event of an attempt by Congress to remove him, to attempt the removal of Congress. This brings the contending parties to close quarters, and to the consideration of the main question, viz .: - On which side is the heaviest artillery? Assuming that with the reassembling of Congress in the last week of November the House of Reprtsentatives will, in the capacity of a grand jury, pass resolutions requiring the Senate, as the high court of imeachment, to try Andrew Johnson for certain 'high crimes and misdemeanors,' what will be the next step in this case? If Mr. Johnson be next declared suspended in his official capacity, and Benjamin F. Wade, President of the Senate, be declared President of the United States for the time being, what then ?

It strikes us that there the conflict must end, for the Constitution provides no appeal against the removal of a President by Congress. All orders from Mr. Johnson, after he shall have been declared superseded by Congress, will be so much waste paper, and will be so regarded by all officials subject to the President's authority. Mr. Johnson must not permit Congress to proceed to the extremity of his removal or suspension, or he is gone. But he will anticipate this result and prevent it by proroguing Congress. The two Houses, however, will disregard this order; and what then? The example of Cromwell, in dispersing the Long Parliament by a squad of soldiers, will then be the only alternative left to the President in pursuing his line of resistance against Congress. But will Mr. Johnson take this hazardous step? We think that, with all the blunders he has committed, and with all the inducements and arguments that have been or may be presented in favor of it by Jerry Black and the Blair family, he will be too wise to venture upon such a blunder as this. We dare say that this warlike programme, which he has foreshadowed for circulation among the newspapers, is mere Chinese thunder, intended to frighten the radicals, and that this new radical hue and cry of impeachment is probably more intended to frighten Johnson than for anything else. If the President were really serious in these

fearful designs, he would hardly blazon them ferences designed to counteract certain mea-ferences designed to counteract certain mea-sures of Congress, and its failure to restore triumphant support in the next Presidential action. If he were in earnest, the word and

the blow would come together. that he has been unduly excited by the late elections in California and Maine, and thinks that his policy is at last creating a tremendous popular reaction against Congress, and that perhaps the people are ready for any measures that will rid the country of this radical Congress and its radical revolutionary schemes. if such, however, are the notions of Mr. Johnson in causing these hints of his present intentions to be made known, we suspect that he will very soon be undeceived, and that he has again been making political capital for the Republican party as represented in Con-

### General Butler's Plan for Repudiating the Public Debt. From the N. Y. World,

General Butler's scheme of repudiation, which first came out in the report of a private conversation, is now publicly acknowledged over his own signature, in a letter to the Evening Post, printed on Friday. His pride in this dishonest project is so complacent that he can "bear no brothers near the throne;" and he accordingly tries to make it appear that it is original with himself, and not borrowed from Mr. Pendleton. He avers that he had not seen Mr. Pendleton's views at the time of the reported conversation, and has met only a synopsis of them since. He claims, too, that his scheme differs radically from Mr. Pendleton's. We are not curious to trace the points of identity or difference; but it is proper to call attention to the alarming proposal put orth by General Butler, and to inquire into the probabilities of its adoption or rejection by the American people.

sion, let us examine what General Butler proposes to do with the national debt. We will allow him to state his plan in his own language:-

"To the assertion that by this course the public creditor by five-twenty bonds is injured. I reply that I propose to pay him when his obli-gation falls due in precisely the same currency or money which the Government has provided for every other creditor, public or private, to be paid in, and that which it is declared upon the ack of every legal-tender note he may be paid in, the best and most valuable money which the credit of the country can ustain, bearing relation to day to gold as 148 to 100—while the money that these five-twenty creditors lent the Government (being the best which the then credit of the Government could afford) stood credit of the Government could afford) stood in relation to gold as 200 and 285 to 100. If the Government pays them in a currency from fifty to one hundred per cent better than they lent the Government, of what have they to complain, save that the Government will not tax the people to pay them a usurious share; or, in other words, will not tax the people to enable the capitainst to make a speculation out of the war necessities of the Government.

"History tells of no Government which has yet paid its creditors all they loaned to it and

yet paid its creditors all they loaned to it, and thus made them whole; and I doubt wnether good faith, good conscience, or equity require good faith, good conscience, or equity require this Government to pay its creditors three times what it received from them, with interest at six per cent, on the treble amount. Of course, if any contract to do that be snown, the Jew shall have his bond, but not one drop of Chris-tian blood.""

(which General Butler disputes) the Government is under a contract to the contrary; and if it be under a contract to pay coin, it is to be fulfilled in the same sense as "Shylock's" bond for the pound of flesh-in other words, it is to be outwitted and defeated by a trick of interpretation. The danger that the public creditors will be dealt with as "Portia" dealt with the usurious Jew when she awarded him the forfeit of his bond, is not small; and it may as well be looked in the face. Our ability to demonstrate that the Government is under an engagement to pay in coin, gives us no confidence that the engagement will be kept, any more than our ability to demonstrate that the policy of the Republican party has been educating the country into a con-tempt of solemn compacts; and as the Government, under the control of that party, has broken the public faith in almost every other particular, it may easily add this infamy to the long catalogue.

Portin.—A pound of that same merchant's flesh is thine;
The court awards it, and the law doth give it. Shylock.—Most righteons judge!
Portin.—And you must cut this flesh from off

This bond doth give thee here no drop of blood; The words expressly are, a pound of flesh;
But in the cutting it, if thou dost shed
A drop of Christian bloed, thy lands and goods
Are, by the laws of Venice, confiscate
Unto the State of Venice. Unto the State of Venice.

This mode of enforcement defeated the intention of the contract, and the spectators are glad to see the Jew so dexteronsly foiled, because they consider the bond as repugnant to natural justice. This is precisely General Butler's idea respecting the contract (if there be one) to pay the public debt in coin. He would have the Government creditors awarded their coin in some such circumventing way as Shylock was awarded his pound of flesh; that is, in a way which, while pretending to give the coin, cheats them out of it. A keen counsellor of thieves, such as General Butler was while practising as a criminal lawyer, could doubtless invent some chicaning tetch against the public creditors, as adroit as that of evading the obligation to surrender fugitive slaves by declaring them "contraband of war," or treating Secesh ladies as women of the town. He prides himself on his ingenuity in such stratagems, and his rogue's wit could easily hit upon something equally expert for circum-venting the public creditors. Whether the country would adopt and applaud it is a very

When the Republican party was a mere

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'Shylook'' was awarded his penalty. No compact, however solemp, has ever been permitted to have the weight of a feather against the nclinations, or, as they would prefer to call it, the sense of justice, of the Republicans. Respect for engagements has, by this means, been o undermined and weakened that a just sense the obligation of contracts is well nigh bliterated.

on grounds of good faith, or that it is binding

in the sense in which it was made, or that it

a party baving the power, has also the incli-

its engagement to restore the States to all their

rights as soon as the Rebellion was subdued:

its engagement not to maintain martial law in

time of peace; its engagement that every State

may have Senators and Representatives in

Congress; and it has derided a long list of

other engagements plainly written in the Con-

stitution, but openly repudiated in the prac-

tice of the Government. It may be said, in-

deed, that most of these engagements, like

that to return fugitive slaves, have been disre-

garded on account of overruling considerations

which rendered fulfilment revolting to the

public mind. This is precisely our point:

that past engagements go for nothing against

a present sense of expediency, and that the

depublican party has been educating the

the country into this contempt of engagements

others? All sense of the obligation of an en-

gagement, simply as being an engagement,

having been effaced, there remains in the Re-

publican party no moral sentiment to which

the obligation of compacts can fasten. The

interest of the bondholders may stand in the

place of a conscience, and bribes may do the

same office for Congressmen; but the mass of

Republican voters and taxpayers have so often

sanctioned the violation of compacts, that they

will have no compunction in doing it again to

ease their burdens. They have become quite

reconciled to the idea of repudiating debts by

paying them in greenbacks, by the custom which has so long prevailed of paying private

debts in this manner. If it is right in the one

The public conscience having been thus de-

bauched by a long course of Republican edu-

cation, and all feeling of the obligation of a

was made, having been obscured and nearly

obliterated, we can give the public creditors

prevalence of General Butler's doctrine. We

shall faithfully do all we can to counteract it;

but the Democratic party has had so little suc

cess in arresting other flagrant breaches of

public faith that we dare not be very sanguine

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case, why not in the other?

no encouragement

the disgraceful list.

nation to break it, is pretty well exploded in this country, except so far as a remnant of Dismissing Mr. Pendleton from the discusgood faith survives among the Democracy. The country derided its engagement to return fugitive slaves; derided its engagement to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court;

This is, at least, hardy and explicit. The bonds are to be paid in greenbacks, unless

Gen. Butler's allusion to "Shylock's" pound of flesh is apt and illustrative; but it is not the first time the same figure has been used to foreshadow the Republican method of fulfilling public engagements. As all readers cannot be expected to be familiar with every part of Shakespeare's plays, let us recall the story of "Shylock." A merchant who, in great distress, borrows money of "Shylock," enters into a bond engaging, as a penalty for non-payment, to forfeit a pound of fiesh, to be cut out by the "Jew" nearest his heart. The merchant fails to pay the debt, and the "Jew" goes into court and sues for a decree authorixing him to take the penalty. A nimble witted woman, in love with the merchant, enters the court in disguise, passes herself off for a learned expounder of the laws, is permitted to assume the judgment-seat, and makes the award as follows:-

his breast; The law allows it, and the court awards it. Shylock.—Most learned judge! a sentence: come, prepare Portia.—Tarry a little:—there is something

grave question.

seed, just beginning to sprout, it was planted, and first teok root, in this same perfidy to public engagements. As long ago as 1848, Mr. Seward, in a speech in Ohio, advocated the fulfilment of the obligation to return fugitive slaves in the same way General Butler advo-cates the payment of the public debt, and made use of the very same illustration drawn from the Merchant of Ventce; telling slavery that, if it insisted on its pound of flesh, "its life must pay the forfeit." And the Republican party has always acted in the spirit of that advice. The plainest and most positive engagements of the Constitution have been been fulfilled in the same spirit in which

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